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ABSTRACT

The 813 participants in the Roosevelt Center's May, 1989, regional citizen assemblies discussed trends affecting workers, employers, and families and laid the groundwork for a recommended national work and family policy. Part 1 of this report analyzes the results of a series of introductory exercises in which citizens were asked to register their concerns about America's families; establish priorities for investing business dollars; and answer a few general questions about the role of government and employers in matters of work and family. Part 2 reports on citizens' specific choices for Federal Government policy concerning family and medical leave, child and elder care, family income, and health insurance. Part 3 examines the impact of the citizens' choices on the federal budget and presents citizens' proposals for funding the new work and family package. Proposals include cuts in defense spending; increased taxes on tobacco, wine, and alcohol; and increased social security taxes. Three strong messages stand out: (1) employers must be central players in any strategy to help balance work and family demands, with government providing incentives for voluntary action and imposing regulations; (2) universal programs are best for providing health and long-term care; (3) education is the key to success for families and the economy. Participants did not support legislative proposals currently in the headlines. (RH)

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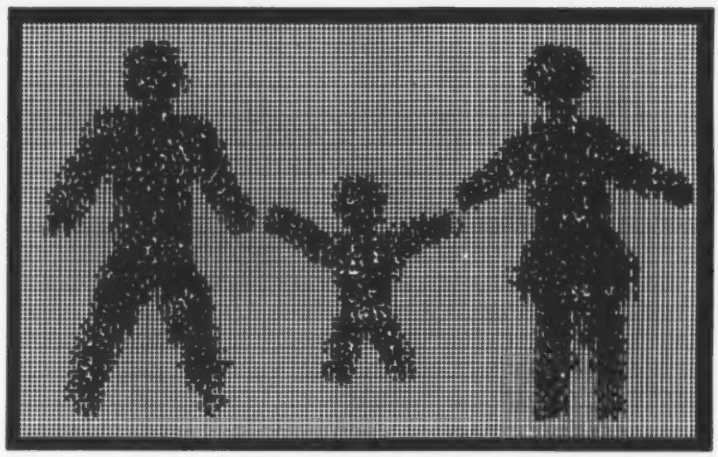
BALANCING WORK AND FAMILY



A Citizens' Agenda for the '90s

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ROOSEVELT CENTER MISSION

The Roosevelt Center's quarterly regional "Citizen Assemblies" are intended to provide policymakers with the informed views of voters on critical policy issues. Through a process called "public engagement," the Center teaches ordinary Americans about the history and structure of policy problems, lays out a representative range of options for dealing with them (including their associated costs and the arguments for and against each option), drives participants to reach judgments about their policy preferences, and communicates those conclusions to appropriate policymakers and to the media. To gain the trust of citizens and policymakers alike, this public engagement strategy is kept scrupulously nonpartisan and nonprescriptive.

There are, of course, numerous external sources of information available to policymakers. Public opinion polls and focus groups, the media, the community of experts and political action committees are among the most obvious external influences on the governing process. Each has a legitimate and useful role to play in a democratic system. All, however, are seriously deficient in one critical respect: They rarely represent or even pretend to represent the considered and informed policy views of average Americans. Nonetheless, poll results and the policy positions of organized interests, to cite two examples, carry considerable weight with policymakers -- more weight than they perhaps deserve.

The Roosevelt Center's unique mission is to reveal new and needed insights into public attitudes on policy issues and choices. By indicating to policymakers where they might be able to lead their constituents after a full, frank and informed debate, the Citizen Assembly process provides information not currently available from other sources. This process involves structured and disciplined consultations with interested and concerned citizens. In dealing with an issue, everything is put on the table -- and through study, deliberation and debate, participants forge their own policy judgments. The Center believes this process, with more widespread use, could help liberate a policy-making process that is too often constrained by the narrowness of the policy choices under consideration and by conventional definitions of the public interest.

Balancing Work and Family

A Citizens' Agenda for the '90s

June 1989

The Roosevelt Center would like to express its most sincere thanks to the members of the Balancing Work and Family Project Steering Committee. The dedication, advice and guidance of these experts proved invaluable to the completion of this project.

The judgments presented in this report are those of the citizen participants and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Steering Committee members or the Roosevelt Center.

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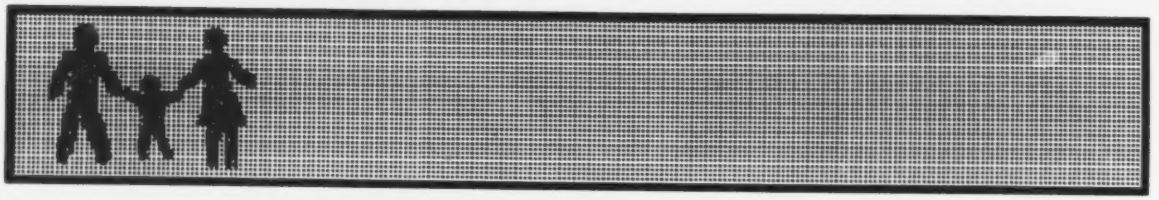
All quotations appearing in the report are from citizen participants themselves. Recordings of selected citizen working groups were made at the forums and helped to enrich the analysis of the final results.



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

During May 1989, the Roosevelt Center for American Policy Studies convened 813 citizens at one of twelve regional sites nationwide to discuss and debate a range of alternative policies for balancing work and family obligations. This report is an analysis and summary of what those citizens had to say.

Raising a family has never been an easy proposition, but the changes ushered in over the past few decades have made the job even harder. The structure of families themselves is shifting. While a third of households with children still have a father who works full-time and a mother who stays home, single-parent households, dual-income households, stepfamilies, and other new patterns are proliferating at a rapid rate. Families conforming to the new patterns face new and difficult challenges in balancing their responsibilities as workers and parents.

Who will look after the children when both parents are working? What happens when a child is ill? How can low-income working families afford health care? What about the special financial pressures on traditional families who choose to live on only one income? These are but a few of the challenges facing the American family.

The nature of these challenges has given rise to a spirited public debate over who should help struggling families and how. Once thought to be purely the parents' responsibility, work and family issues are increasingly being discussed as matters of employer obligation and as subjects of government policy.

Participants in the Roosevelt Center's Balancing Work and Family Forum joined this debate, looking in particular at what role, if any, the federal government should play in work and family issues. The forum concentrated on five specific areas— personal leave for family and medical exigencies, child care, long-term care for elderly, dependent parents, support for economically marginal working families, and health insurance. In each of these areas, participants examined a range of options that include proposals currently being considered in Washington and raise fundamental questions about how these issues should be handled in society, and by whom.

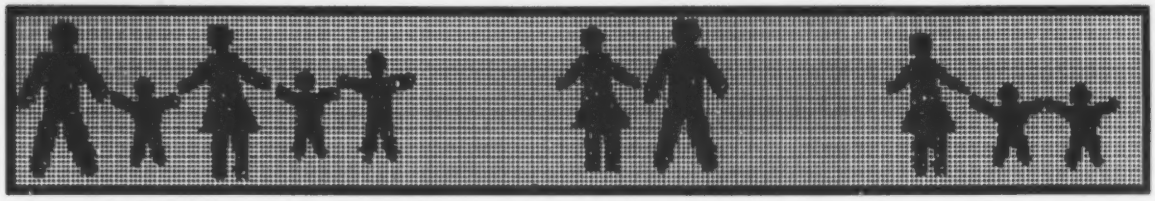
Among the more salient findings are the following:

1. These citizens want help and are prepared to have government provide it. Participants unequivocally called for outside help for families caught in the squeeze between work and home obligations. While most apparently see the employer as the key source of this help, they are prepared to involve government at all levels to encourage, and in some cases require, more generous or more flexible work and family policies.

2. These citizens are inclined to favor universal programs for providing health and long-term care, even if that involves significant federal involvement and expense. Nearly 60 percent of participants nationwide favored one of two costly proposals for a universal national insurance program that would cover many of the expenses of long-term care. Similarly, 54 percent favored an expensive proposal that would require all large private employers to offer comprehensive health coverage to their workers. Under this proposal, all other Americans, working or not, would be covered by a federally-administered national health insurance plan.

3. Education eclipses other work and family issues as the dominant social concern. Asked to identify which of ten social concerns represented the most pressing *unmet* needs facing America's families, over 50 percent placed education in the topmost of three categories of urgency. Education outdistanced health care, the second-ranking concern, by a considerable margin. Along with health care, participants assigned notable urgency to a cluster of work and family issues, including child care and elder care.

4. Current policy proposals for addressing work and family conflicts failed to win significant support among participants. There seems to be more of a consensus that something needs to be done than there is over which particular approaches would be best. Many of the proposals being hotly debated and widely vaunted in Washington—including the minimum wage hike, the Act for Better Child Care, President Bush's child tax credit, and others—won less than a majority of votes. These packages may reflect political realities as well as sound policy analysis, but participant reactions to these proposals suggest that they fail as rallying points for dealing with the needs and concerns felt by a wide segment of the American populace.



INTRODUCTION

"Just think about exactly what the family is at this moment in time. It's wonderful to have this picture of the typical American family in our imaginations where people come home and they eat meals together; good conversation takes place; and all the values are taught; and all the children are read to every night and put into bed. That is an idyllic picture. But no research shows that that is taking place in even 20 percent of American families."

"But the mother who chooses to stay home with her kids must not be looked at as a dinosaur or something. That has to be one of the options left open for people."

In May of this year, 813 Americans from all walks of life and representing a wide cross section of party affiliation, ideology, age, gender, and race stepped into the shoes of policymakers. In twelve sites scattered across the country, participants met to discuss recent trends affecting workers, employers, and families and lay the groundwork for a national work and family policy. This report describes their judgments.

These citizens brought to the table many deeply-held convictions about the family and the workplace, as well as a rich variety of personal experience that informed the debate. After completing several hours of "homework" reading and exercises, they began with a shared base of information about the issues and a shared set of questions to be answered:

(1) What are the top concerns facing America's working families?

(2) Are these concerns strictly private matters or are they also public concerns? Should government get involved in the conflicts between work and family? What role should employers play?

(3) If government does get involved in work and family matters, which of the many policy proposals now under consideration do citizens prefer?

(4) How much will a new work and family policy cost the federal government and where should the dollars be found?

The participants' judgments, described in more detail in the chapters that follow, are the product of more than 1,000 hours of individual advanced preparation and more than 48 hours of spirited discussion (four hours per forum) among ordinary citizens with an uncommon base of knowledge about all sides of the work and family debate.

Three strong messages stand out. First, according to project participants, employers must be central players in any strategy to help balance work and family demands, with government providing incentives for voluntary action in some cases and imposing regulations in other cases. Second, people are inclined to favor universal programs for providing health and long-term care, even at the cost of adding over $30 billion to the federal deficit and raising taxes by an equal amount. Finally, these citizens believe that education is the key to success for families and the economy. Improving education should be a guiding principle for both government and business leaders as they design policies and invest resources.

By and large, these citizens failed to support the legislative proposals most often in the headlines -- the Act for Better Child Care, President Bush's child tax credit, the minimum wage hike, and others. Beyond the broad themes of education and universal health care, these citizens did not present a clear public mandate for policymakers. The message to Congress and the Administration is not "Full steam ahead with current proposals," but rather, "You have more work to do to satisfy our concerns." In addition, citizens in some sites showed a strong appetite for learning more about what the private sector can do on its own to address the work and family challenge.

Part One of this report analyzes the results of a series of introductory exercises in which citizens were asked to register their concerns about America's families, establish priorities for investing business dollars, and answer a few general, philosophical questions about the role of government and employers in matters of work and family. From a list of ten possible family concerns, only one -- education -- received a national majority of votes. This overwhelming interest in education mirrors many other public opinion research findings, including the Roosevelt Center's *Citizens' Agenda for the President* in which education was second only to the federal budget deficit on participants' list of priorities for presidential action. Likewise, education topped the participants' list of key investments for American business. Finally, citizens called upon employers as well as federal, state, and local branches of government to tackle the problems of work and family for poor and middle-class families alike.

Part Two reports on citizens' specific choices for federal government policy in the areas of family and medical leave, child care, elder care, and family income and health insurance. Here, citizens adopted a variety of alternative approaches, including tax incentives to spur private action, government regulation, preschool subsidies, and large, comprehensive government health care programs.

Part Three examines the total impact of the citizens' choices on the federal budget and presents their proposals for funding this new work and family package: cuts in defense spending; increased taxes on tobacco, wine, and alcohol; and increased social security taxes.

Context for the Forum

The recent surge in interest in work and family issues is America's response to what Secretary of Labor Elizabeth Dole has referred to as "The Quiet Revolution" of women's employment. The percentage of women working outside the home has risen steadily for almost four decades. Today, one-third of women are homemakers, one-third are employed part time, and one-third are employed full time. Businesses are counting on women workers to fill many of the new job slots for the next 15 years.

As a result of this change in women's typical "job description," demand for babysitting, child-care centers, elder day care, at-home care, and other services once provided within the family is growing rapidly. With the "baby boom" generation (the large number of Americans born between 1946 and 1964) starting its own families, the number of children in the population under age six is on the rise. As the baby boomers age, the elderly portion of the American population will grow rapidly, putting extra pressure on the nation's economy, health care system, and retirement system well into the 21st century.

At the same time, economic change is shaking up the workplace. U.S. products face far more competition from overseas today than they did just a decade ago. Skilled workers in many fields and regions of the country are in short supply. Managers are scrambling to keep up with changing technology, changing consumer tastes, and tougher standards of quality.

Competitive pressures on businesses cut both ways in the debate over balancing work and family. On the one hand, more and more companies are recognizing the value of investing in their human resources. In particular, a growing number of businesses are responding to the notion that employer assistance with child care, flexible schedules, family leave, and other benefits makes it easier to recruit employees, reduces absenteeism and turnover, and improves

overall morale. On the other hand, businesses are forced to weigh expenditures for family-related benefits against demands for increased investment in research, product development, new technology, education and training programs for a more diverse workforce, export expansion, and other measures to improve competitiveness. With health insurance premiums running far ahead of inflation, companies face tough decisions about allocating their worker benefits dollars.

What does the public think about these changes? Ten of the twelve top issues identified by participants in the Roosevelt Center's *Citizens' Agenda for the President* last fall were domestic issues, with the federal budget deficit ranking first and education second. Opinion polls show growing public concern over America's unmet social needs, alongside deep anxieties about increasing the federal budget deficit to pay for new programs. President Bush has expressed his desire for a "kinder, gentler nation," while Members of Congress and other national leaders have been calling special attention to our nation's underinvestment in its children.

According to some public opinion experts, America is on the verge of a new "guns and butter debate" as the call to shift scarce resources from defense and national security spending to social spending intensifies. Nationwide, citizen participants in these forums chose to raise federal spending by $36 billion, mostly for health-care-related programs. Dedicated Social Security and other taxes paid for most of the increase ($32 billion), with the remaining $4 billion coming out of defense spending and increased "sin taxes" on alcohol and tobacco products. While citizens did shift dollars from defense to social concerns, the amount of that shift was relatively small.

It is important to note, however, that the central question facing policymakers interested in work and family issues is not just a budget question. Rather, it is a question about the proper role of government in the lives of families and the decisions of employers. At an earlier time in our history, concerns about child care, elder care, health insurance, and leaves of absence were considered private matters between family members and workers and management. But more recently, policymakers, lawmakers, and the judicial system have begun to play a larger role. Discussions are moving from the corporate boardroom, union hall, and family dinner table to legislative chambers and courtrooms. Should this trend continue? Who is responsible for meeting the challenge of balancing work and family demands?

Forum Objectives

The main goal of the Balancing Work and Family Project is to explore informed citizen attitudes toward federal policy in the areas of family and medical leave, child care, elder care, family income, and health insurance.

With a new Administration in Washington and Congressional interest in work and family issues reaching a crescendo, decisive federal action is likely in at least a few of these areas in the coming year. Before bills are passed and policies ratified, the Roosevelt Center wants to ensure a place in the debate for the considered judgments of America's citizenry. The program arises from a belief that the true experts on issues of work and family are the men and women, and in some cases youth, with a personal stake in the outcome -- including employers, managers, child-care providers, teachers, students, parents, retirees, and homemakers.

The Balancing Work and Family Project is, at heart, more than just an important exercise in information gathering. It is also a new kind of communication between concerned citizens and Washington decisionmakers. The Roosevelt Center's nationwide Citizen Assembly process, of which this project is part, is designed to elicit thoughtful and informed views on issues of direct relevance to the federal policy process on a regular basis, and to deliver those views to Washington policymakers and insiders. As with the *Presidential Agenda Project* and the *Defense Budget and National Security Project*, this project was designed in consultation with members of the Washington policy community, and the results are expected to be of interest to a broad cross section of that community and those who seek to influence it.

The Roosevelt Center believes that the findings outlined in this report should not dictate public policy, but inform it. They should not be seen as a static and permanent expression of public judgment on these matters; instead, they should be seen as a starting point, exemplary of the potential for an ongoing collaboration between the government and the governed on issues of critical importance to the nation.

Process

Citizen Assemblies were formed through an open recruitment process that included newspaper articles and radio public service announcements, as well as contacts with local civic, business, labor, educational, and public service organizations. Participants filled out a detailed application form, allowing each regional director to constitute an Assembly that is as representative as possible of the

demographic and political complexion of its community. Each of the twelve Assemblies represents a broad cross section of its region -- teachers, farmers, homemakers, students, business executives, carpenters, plumbers, social workers -- essentially people from all walks of life. The political distribution of these 813 people is roughly 44 percent Democratic, 27 percent Republican, 26 percent Independent, and 3 percent undeclared (or of another party). Of those who chose to characterize their ideological position, 54 percent are moderates, 16 percent conservatives and 29 percent liberals. The gender division is 40 percent male and 60 percent female; approximately 83 percent are white and 16 percent are minorities.

While rarely a perfect microcosm, each Assembly is unassailably diverse. And despite the unavoidable self-selection involved in an open application process, the Center confidently believes that the conclusions arrived at by the participants in its Assemblies are largely predictive of the outcomes that would emerge from other groups similarly organized.

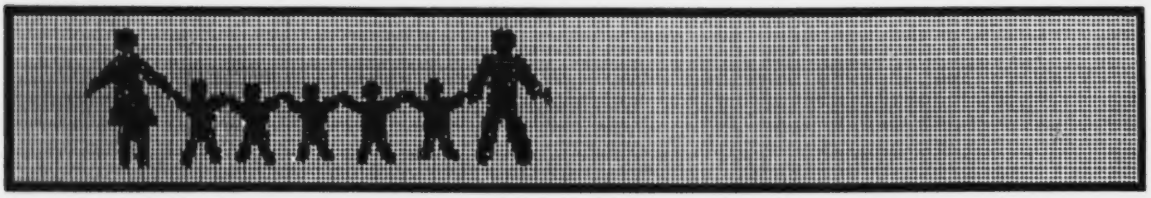
In the San Fernando Valley in southern California and in Chicago, Illinois, special efforts were made to recruit and train citizen participants from populations that are often poorly represented in qualitative public policy research. These included low-income families, individuals with less than a high-school education, and non-English speaking individuals.

As preparation for the forum, participants read 80 pages of briefing materials; rank-ordered their work and family concerns; chose policy options in the areas of family and medical leave, child care, elder care, family income, and health insurance; and reconciled new work and family programs with current federal budget realities. This preliminary work was the point of departure for discussions and deliberations at the forums. At various junctures throughout the four-hour forums, Assemblies broke into smaller groups so as to give participants a chance to present their points of view and listen to those of others. Field directors attempted to build balance into these subgroups, so that differing views would coexist in them. Work and family options could only be "enacted" by majority vote of those present, so persuasion counted more than decibel level, and civility prevailed.

That 813 ordinary Americans were prepared to make the extended commitment of time and effort required of participants is significant evidence of citizen concern about these issues. When care is taken to make policy education interesting and fair, and when there is a reasonable chance that people's exertions will not be in vain, then ordinary citizens will engage on demanding issues such as, in this case, work and family policy.

In past written evaluations, a substantial number of participants indicated that the fact that Washington might listen was a major motivation for getting

involved. The Center also finds encouraging the growing interest in Washington in what reasonably well-informed people in the country at large have to say. Continuing this dialogue can only strengthen the nation as we navigate the challenging years that lie ahead.



PART ONE: INTRODUCTORY EXERCISES

Balancing Work and Family -- Priority Concerns

" The more educated you are, the more able you are to take care of yourself and make decisions for yourself. So I would make education the top priority for America's families."

"With those two things under your belt -- a good education and good job opportunities -- all the other things would follow."

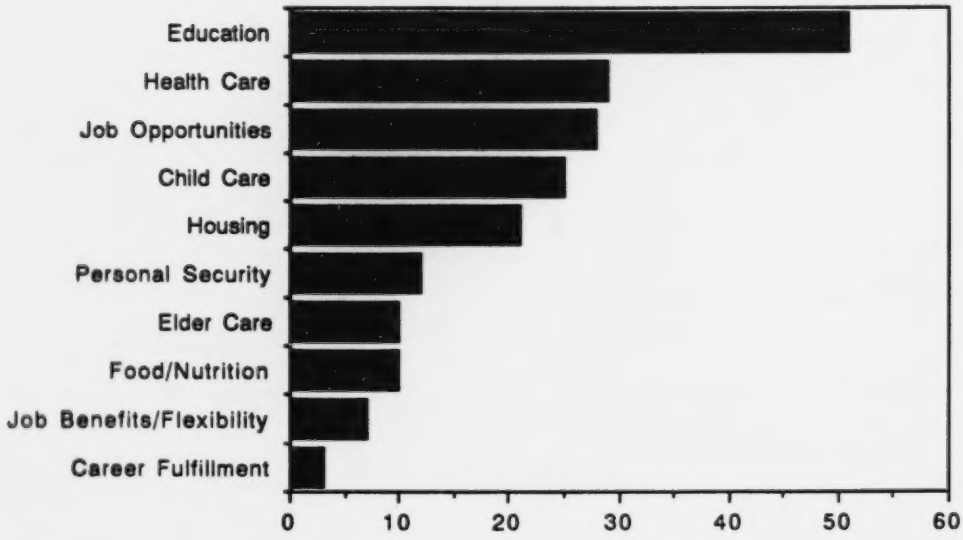
"Health care is important because it is such a big portion of the nation's budget."

Families with children face difficult challenges, from paying the maternity bills to picking a college. In order to evaluate specific proposals for work and family policies, it is important to begin by asking what American families want and need to cope with these challenges.

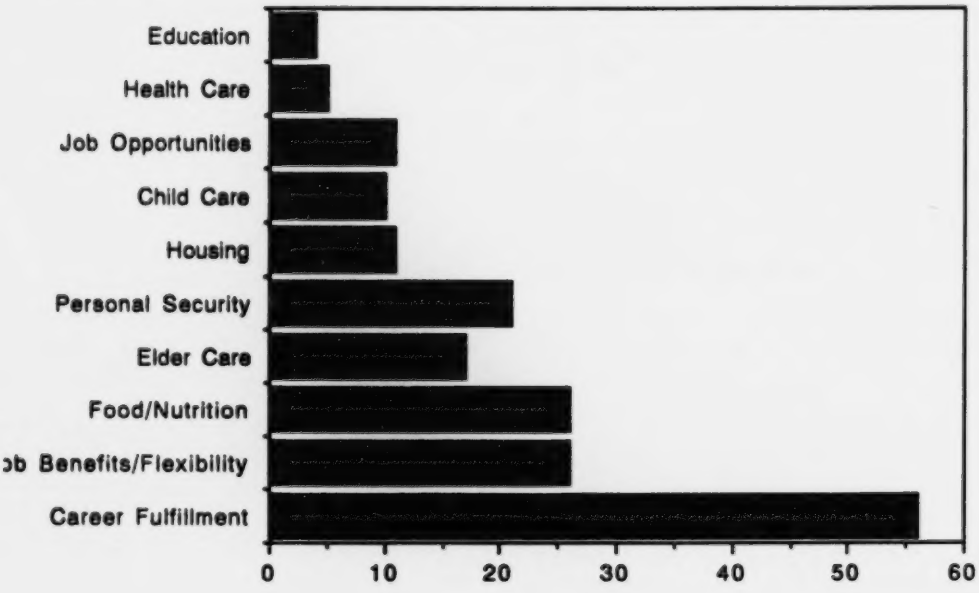
Participants were asked to select from a list of ten social concerns those most in need of attention in America today. Concerns ranged from child care to job opportunities to housing to personal security. In classifying these needs, participants were to assess both their importance to society *and* the extent to which the needs are not being met by present efforts. Participants classified each need either as "Urgent," meaning of greatest concern to families (participants could place no more than two items in this category,); "Important," for items that do not rank as top priorities but are still quite important; or "Less Important," for items of relatively minor concern to most families. According to participants, education tops the list of unmet social needs, followed by health care, jobs, child care, and housing.

Errata. The following graphs should replace those found on page 12.

Urgent Priority Concerns (National Results, by Percentage)



Less Important Priority Concerns (National Results, by Percent



A majority of participants -- 51 percent -- labelled education as an "Urgent" unmet need, while another 42 percent termed it "Important." No other social concern ranked nearly as high as did this one. Participants' emphasis on education squares with other Roosevelt Center assessments of public priorities (see *A Citizens' Agenda for the President* and the final report of the High-Flex Society Project) as well as with other opinion studies. Earlier studies suggested that the concern flows from the belief that education is, more than ever, the key to economic mobility in this country; yet at the same time, the quality of public education has suffered serious decline in recent years.

Health Care was a distant second choice among participants: 29 percent of participants rated it "Urgent" and 65 percent rated it "Important." (Nine of the ten social needs received majorities for the "Important" classification.) Job Opportunities followed just behind, with 28 percent calling them "Urgent" and 50 percent calling them "Important." Decent and Affordable Child Care was an "Urgent" unmet need to 24 percent and an "Important" one to 63 percent. Rounding out the top five, Housing was termed "Urgent" by 21 percent of participants and "Important" by another 66 percent.

As noted, most participants found almost all of the needs important. Those receiving fewer "Urgent" ratings were Personal Security (12 percent called it an "Urgent" unmet need), Food and Nutrition (10 percent), Elder Care (9 percent), Job Benefits and Flexibility (7 percent), and Career Fulfillment (3 percent).

Nearly a third of participants responded to the invitation to add their own social need to the list. Six percent added an "Urgent" unmet need, while another 27 percent added an "Important" one.

Investing Business Dollars

"If businesses want to attract the workers that are on the cutting edge, they will have to provide the services that those workers want."

"Workers are the key to success for those businesses."

"I'm willing to focus a lot on trade, because we have to look to the rest of the world and realize that we're connected to other countries."

"I don't want government making or determining these business investments."

Employers represent another potent force in the work and family debate. The recent contract between American Telephone & Telegraph Company and the Communications Workers of America made front-page news for its groundbreaking approach to workers' changing family and lifestyle needs. The contract set a new model for unionized companies where child care, elder care, family leave and related issues have been added to the collective bargaining agenda. In the past year alone, major employers such as IBM, DuPont, Johnson & Johnson, Ford, Chrysler, Exxon, and others have captured public attention for a variety of innovative efforts to assess employees' family needs and restructure benefits to meet them.

Such measures, however, are best understood in the context of overall business investments. In the competitive world marketplace of the 1980s, American business faces enormous pressures to increase investment in everything from new technology to worker training to export know-how. Dollars spent for on-site child care cannot be spent for product research and development.

To gain a clearer understanding of public attitudes toward this dilemma, participants in the Balancing Work and Family Project were asked to allocate an imaginary set of investment units for American businesses. For the most part, citizens invested their units more or less equally across the board. It is interesting to note, however, that the three most popular investment choices were related to human resources: education and community involvement (18 percent of units), worker training, and personnel benefits (16 percent of units each). Other investments, in order of priority, were product research and development, better technology, export development, and cost containment. The message for business leaders from these citizens may be: Invest in workers because they are the key to economic competitiveness.

Balancing Work and Family -- Should Business and Government Help?

"I would like to see more government involvement in things like education, health care, and housing, because when these things are left to the individual, it's a seller's market. Those who have money can get it and those who don't, can't."

"Free enterprise does everything better than government, because they are set up to do things profitably. If companies produce shoddy goods, the free enterprise system weeds them out."

"I'll argue for the federal government without state and local. I am not prepared to turn people over to the tender mercies of Mississippi or Texas and let them run a program for families, particularly given their track record."

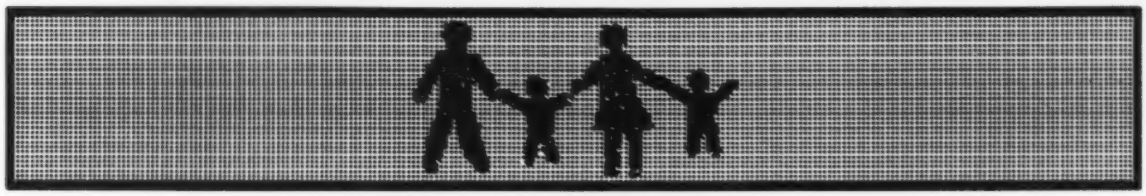
"Not me. I like to be able to talk to the person who is spending my money and it's easier to get a hold of my state and local representatives. I can drive to the state capitol in about three hours, but I can't just get up and go into the halls of Congress."

Beginning with this exercise, participants turned to the main subject at hand, work and family policy. As a threshold matter, participants made some initial judgments about the extent to which two critical players in work and family issues, business and government, have a responsibility to help families manage.

Participants assigned significant responsibilities to both the public and private sectors. Asked whether businesses should be expected to adapt their personnel policies to the new realities of American family life, or whether workers should put their employers' expectations first, 82 percent nationwide called for new personnel policies and 12 percent said that workers should be the ones who adapt. Even in conservative communities like Cedar Rapids and Peoria, more than two-thirds called upon business to do more to help people balance their jobs with their family responsibilities.

Large majorities also saw a role for the public sector in dealing with these issues. Eight in ten participants indicated that government at some level should be involved. Exactly two-thirds of all participants called on federal, state, and local governments to pool their efforts in dealing with work and family issues. Again, even in the more conservative communities, the notion of government involvement received resounding support.

To the extent that government does get involved, participants indicated that help should be available to all middle-class Americans as well as poor families. Roughly 65 percent of the nationwide group of 813 took this view, while 26 percent called for restriction of government help to needier families only.



PART TWO: FEDERAL POLICY OPTIONS

The main part of the Balancing Work and Family Forum consisted of discussion and debate on a series of *federal* policy options on Family and Medical Leave, Child Care, Elder Care, Family Income, and Health Insurance. In each area, participants weighed a range of options that, in most cases, corresponds to policy options that are now, or are about to be, subjects of public debate either in Congress or the executive branch.

Family and Medical Leave

> *"The average employer, in my opinion, is not going to give workers anything out of the goodness of his heart. They will give only if they are pressured in one way or another. They will not do it because it's a nice thing to do."*
>
> *"There is such a thing as enlightened self-interest. If the employer can be made to see that it is to his benefit to give benefits, then he will grant those benefits. But you have to do a good job of convincing him."*
>
> *"I think the business world will come around to providing these benefits. It will take some time. The problem is everyone is in such a hurry."*
>
> *"I don't trust leaving it up to businesses. One business may do it and another one may not. I would like to see more control from the outside."*
>
> *"I would favor government action in terms of encouraging employers to change but not necessarily requiring them."*

Should time off from work to have children, look after a sick child or spouse, or convalesce after an illness or injury be a basic right of employment? What, if anything, should the federal government do to ensure American workers access to family and medical leave? Options in this category ranged from no federal role at all to providing minor tax incentives for businesses that adopt more generous leave

policies to mandating six months of partially-paid leave for all American workers. Participants were free to choose as many as three of the four options in this category.

Seventy-four percent of all participants chose one of the options that calls for a federal labor standard. Six in ten participants supported the most stringent regulatory option available. Under the terms of this option, all workers would be entitled to up to six months of parental or family leave at half pay. The leave would be paid for by a fund to which each business would contribute $80 per year per employee and each worker would contribute a like amount. Under this plan, employers would be required to preserve a worker's seniority, pension, and other benefits during the leave period. While both of these proposals impose a heavy regulatory burden on businesses, neither option involves any government spending.

This popular idea goes far beyond the provisions of existing legislative proposals, which call for up to 15 weeks of unpaid leave for family and medical needs. The version contained in current legislation received a mere 14 percent of participants' votes.

Alongside the paid leave standard, a majority of participants -- 58 percent -- also favored a tax-incentive plan that would give tax breaks to companies that implement flexible work and leave policies. That plan would cost the government $500 million in lost revenues each year.

A follow-up question asked participants which of a number of enumerated exigencies should be grounds for taking leave. Of the seven, six of them received strong majorities -- maternity, paternity, worker's own serious illness, and the serious illness of a child, spouse, or parent. Only 26 percent thought leave should be available to look after other seriously ill relatives.

Child Care

"There is not enough good child care for the majority of the people. The best child care I ever got was run by the county. That was a really good child care center. But as I reached an income level that was too high for that, we had to leave, and I was really angry. I had to shop around and the child care that was equal to that program was too expensive. I mean it was way out of bounds. I resented that. I felt I should have as good child care as the poor have."

"I am vehemently opposed to government-sponsored day-care centers, government-sponsored day-care anything."

"I voted for federal preschool because I know here in Georgia we have so many 17-year-olds who cannot read. You have to deal with that problem early in people's lives."

"If we are going to spend money on this, let's spend it as best we can. Let's spend it on education."

In 1988, presidential candidates Bush and Dukakis promised to support federal legislation that would ease the burden on families of caring for children. Since the election, two opposing proposals have formed the pillars of the child care debate in Congress. President Bush has suggested a tax credit approach that would put more money in the hands of low-income families with children, regardless of whether the children are cared for in the home or outside the home. The President's proposal was a response to the Act for Better Child Care (ABC), a bill crafted in the last Congress by a large, mostly Democratic coalition (and supported by the Democratic presidential nominee Michael Dukakis) which seeks direct government subsidies for and federal regulation of child care providers.

Included in the child-care options for project participants were variations on the Bush and ABC proposals, along with several additional plans. Participants were free to choose as many as four of the five options. Citizens nationwide failed to give majority support to either the Bush or ABC proposals, reflecting the dichotomy that also exists in Congress. Based on these findings, it is not a certainty that some bipartisan compromise that combined elements of the two proposals would command majority public support.

Most popular among the child-care options was a $500 million per year tax incentive program to encourage businesses to either subsidize day care or set up day-care centers at the place of employment. This plan received the support of 64 percent -- nearly two-thirds -- of participants nationwide. Clearly, for these citizens, there is a prominent role for business and industry in meeting America's child-care needs.

Also garnering a majority -- 56 percent -- was a $2.5 billion annual package of federal subsidies for early public education programs, including the much-lauded Head Start program. This plan would focus on making special early childhood development programs available free to disadvantaged children and to others for a sliding-scale fee. This is not strictly a child-care plan, as its focus is on educational development, and it would not occupy all youngsters during an entire workday. Widespread support for the measure makes sense, however, in light of the overwhelming concern participants expressed about education earlier in the forum.

Three options failed to receive majority support. Among them was one that would give tax credits to low-income families who need child care (the "Bush plan"). It received the support of roughly 33 percent of the participants in this section of the policy options.[1] Slightly more popular -- 44 percent -- was a plan that would, in partnership with the states, subsidize child care for low- and moderate-income families and regulate child-care safety and quality at a cost of $2.5 billion annually (the "ABC plan.") Finally, fewer than 20 percent of all participants supported a $20 billion annual spending plan that would institute voluntary, universal pre-school.

A second series of questions focused on the quality, as opposed to affordability or availability, of child care. Participants had to choose one of three basic propositions -- federal minimum child-care quality standards, state quality standards, or leaving quality to the free market. Eighty-five percent of the participants, an overwhelming majority, apparently would prefer not to subject their children to the vagaries of the free market. A majority -- 63 percent -- preferred universal federal quality standards, and another 23 percent chose state standards. Only 12 percent supported the notion of relying on private-sector standards.

Elder Care

> *"I will just simply say that I'm usually a free-market person. But on this one, I'm for government action. I don't think we can afford to be passive about elder care. I think that the problem of the increasing number of elderly is going to swamp us as a nation, and they have to be dealt with from a policy and legislative standpoint."*
>
> *"Medicare almost broke the Social Security system, and so would long-term care."*

As the nation's population ages, workers will increasingly face the need to look after the generation that reared them -- their parents -- as well as the generation they produce. Caring for elderly relatives poses unique challenges to a family. Health care, in particular, becomes a major and expensive preoccupation. Who will pay for the long-term care that the growing population of aged and dependent Americans will require?

[1] An additional 8 percent of participants voted for the child tax credit as a family income program later in the forum, for a combined total of 41 percent of participants. Citizens could not choose the option twice.

Participants faced a series of five options in this category, from which they were to choose only one. Choices included establishing a new federal insurance program, expanding Medicare coverage to cover long-term care, expanding Medicaid to cover long-term care for the needy, establishing Individual Medical Accounts to be patterned after Individual Retirement Accounts, and offering tax incentives to encourage development of private insurance coverage.

No single option received majority support. A combined total of 59 percent, however, supported two similar options -- establishing a new insurance program and expanding Medicare. Both programs share several common elements. Both would make long-term care a right available to rich and poor Americans alike. Both programs would call for deep and extensive federal involvement in the long-term care market. Both would require about $20 billion in additional revenues each year, and both would raise that revenue by increasing Social Security taxes on those earning more than $45,000 a year. By viewing the two options as a single unit, participants, it could be argued, called for a dramatic and direct federal investment in helping all Americans deal with the expense of long-term care.

The remaining options each garnered less than 20 percent of the participants' support. Roughly 16 percent would establish individual medical accounts, to which individuals could choose to contribute. Eleven percent favored tax incentives to encourage private insurers to offer affordable long-term care insurance. Finally, 7 percent supported expansion of Medicaid, thus restricting federal involvement in long-term care to low-income families.

It is important to note that while these citizens clearly leaned toward proposals that provide universal social insurance for long-term care, individual participants expressed dissatisfaction with the range of options offered in this section. As some observers have suggested, the issue of elder care in general, and long-term care in particular, may be where child care was a few years ago. A handful of proposals have been developed by a few key congressional leaders and employers are just beginning to explore their options. However, no large coalitions have emerged to support specific approaches to solving the impending crisis. As positions develop and more options are offered, public opinion may also come into clearer focus in this area.

Family Income and Health Insurance

> *"I think medicine is a human right. There shouldn't be anybody who goes without medical care. That is obscene with the technology we have in the world. So I feel strongly everyone should be afforded good health care."*

The nation's recent economic boom has been good news for many American families. Two-career, professional couples are leaving the middle class to join the ranks of the affluent. Workers in many fields have watched their wages climb along with their employee benefits. However, at the same time, some segments of the population have been losing ground. For a variety of reasons, young families with children, particularly young black families, have experienced an overall decline in real median income since 1973. Marginal working families, many of which are headed by single women, are finding themselves caught in a bureaucratic twilight zone between severe poverty, for which public assistance would be available, and financial subsistence. They are too poor to maintain a decent standard of living but too rich to get help.

Beyond the obvious problems that plague marginal families -- inadequate income for food, shelter, clothing, and other essentials -- lies a health-care crisis. Nearly one in five Americans has no health insurance at all. Many of these individuals are members of low-income working families.

Participants confronted two sets of options in this category. The first dealt broadly with various approaches to putting more money in the hands of marginal families. The second dealt specifically with health care.

Family Income. Participants could choose as many as two of four family income options. These options included a child tax credit based on the number of children in a family, an expanded earned-income tax credit that would use the tax system to put greater amounts of money into the hands of marginal families, an increase in the minimum wage, and a federal program to help states enforce child support judgments in families that have been divided by divorce.

Sixty-five percent of all participants supported the child support measure, which would involve a negligible amount of new federal spending. The logic for the measure is based on the belief that many low-income families are composed of a divorced working mother and her children. In such cases, where the father is alive and working, it is too easy in many states to escape child support obligations with impunity. In supporting this option, some participants expressed their conviction

that parents should be forced to do what they can to meet their own family obligations, with government help only as a last resort.

Participants were split over two of the more far-reaching options. Forty-seven percent supported increasing the current $3.35 minimum wage to $4.65. Another 42 percent supported the more complex (but, many say, more targeted) earned-income tax credit plan. Only 8 percent favored the child tax credit in this portion of the exercise.[2]

Health Insurance. Participants were asked to choose no more than one of three options dealing specifically with health coverage. Choices included requiring that all businesses provide health insurance for their workers, permitting marginal families to buy into the Medicaid system (which is now restricted to low-income recipients) and creating a universal health care regime that would combine certain aspects of the first two options.

A majority of participants -- 54 percent -- opted for the sweeping program of universal health care. Under this plan, the federal government would require large private employers to provide insurance to all workers and their families. The estimated cost to employers would be $20 to $30 billion. All others, employed or not, would be covered by a $12.5 billion federal health insurance program, which would raise its funds through taxes on businesses not covered by the insurance mandate and on all working Americans.

Another 30 percent divided evenly between the constituent options that called for either mandated health insurance *or* an option to buy into the Medicaid system. Another 17 percent rejected all three options.

[2]This is the same proposal that participants examined in the context of child care.

A Composite Work and Family Program

By examining only those options that received the support of a majority of participants nationwide, a composite policy plan emerges. Summarized below, this composite features universal health and long-term care for all Americans. It also includes a range of "carrot" and "stick" incentives to encourage businesses to adopt new work and family policies.

The options participants chose would cost the federal government an additional $36 billion each year. Two of the options, long-term care and health insurance, had built-in tax provisions that would cover their cost -- about $32 billion. That leaves $4 billion that participants would have added to the federal budget deficit. As the next section details, however, participants had some clear ideas about other sources of compensatory budget savings.

It should be noted that these dollar figures refer*only* to the federal government costs of these policies. In many cases, the options listed below also call for substantial expenditures by private businesses, state and local governments, and individual workers.

Policy Option	Percentage Supporting	Spending Increase ($ billions)
FAMILY AND MEDICAL LEAVE		
Tax Incentives for Business	58	.5
Federal Minimum Labor Standards - European Model	60	no change
CHILD CARE		
Tax Incentives for Business	68	.5
Expanded Early Education	56	2.5
ELDER CARE		
Universal National Insurance	58*	20.0**

FAMILY INCOME AND BENEFITS		
Child Support Enforcement	65	minimal new spending
HEALTH INSURANCE		
Universal Public/Private Partnership	54	12.5***

TOTAL NEW FEDERAL SPENDING: **$36 billion**

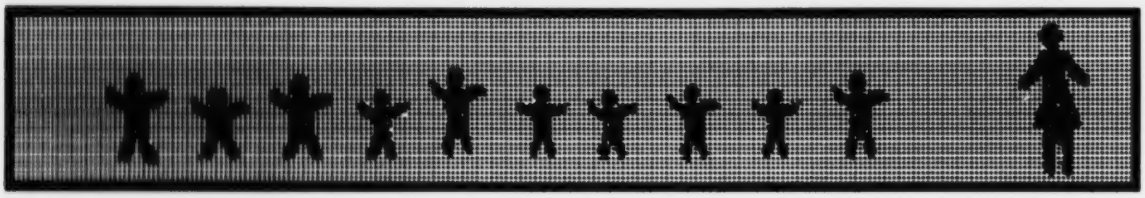
TOTAL OPTION-SPECIFIC TAXES: **$32 billion**

NET INCREASE IN BUDGET DEFICIT: **$4 billion**

* This item combines participants' support for two nearly identical options.

** This option would be paid for by a built-in hike in Social Security taxes on individuals who earn more than $45,000 per year.

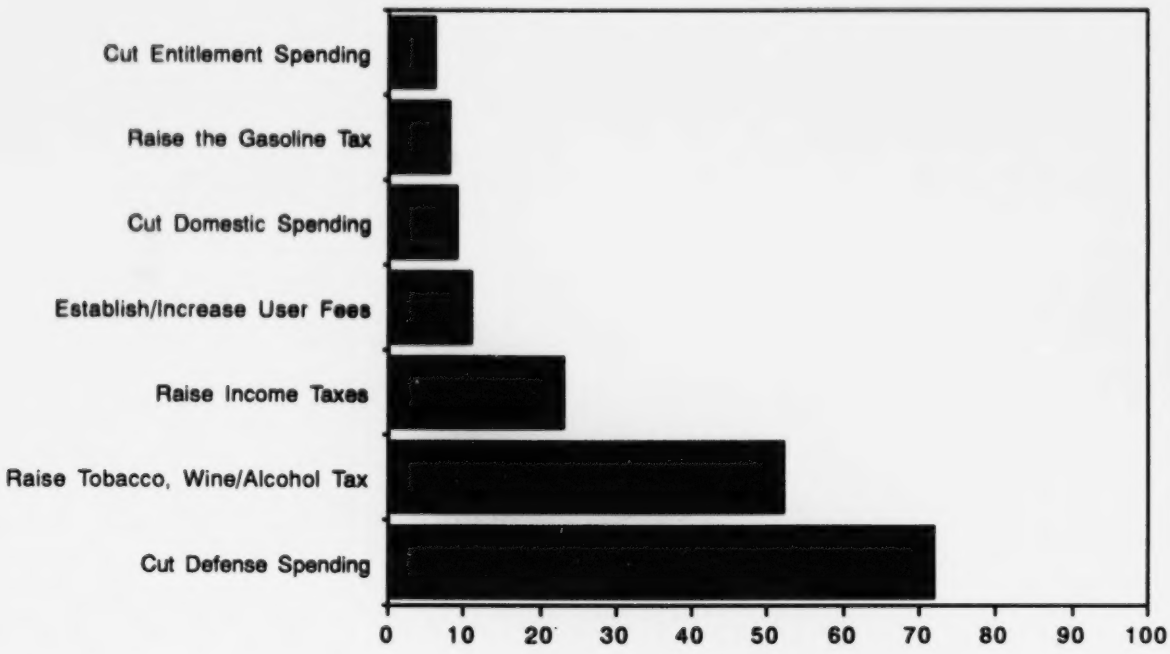
*** Up to $12 billion of the annual costs of this option would be paid for by new dedicated taxes on both workers and employers.



PART THREE: PAYING FOR NEW WORK AND FAMILY PROGRAMS

In an era of relentless annual federal budget deficits of more than a hundred billion dollars, new federal spending programs have the cards stacked against them. In this atmosphere, one cannot expect to add to federal spending without having at least some idea about where the money will come from. The Balancing Work and Family Forum challenged participants to pay for the new federal spending programs they selected by either increasing revenues or cutting other federal expenses.

Paying for New Work and Family Programs
(National Results, by Percentage)



In keeping with a consistent pattern of some years' duration, participants would pay for new work and family programs through a combination of reductions in military spending and increases in "sin taxes" on alcohol and tobacco products. Offered a list of seven approaches to narrowing the gap between federal revenues and federal spending, more than 70 percent of the participants called for lower defense spending. Just over 50 percent called for increased taxes on beer, wine, tobacco, and alcohol.

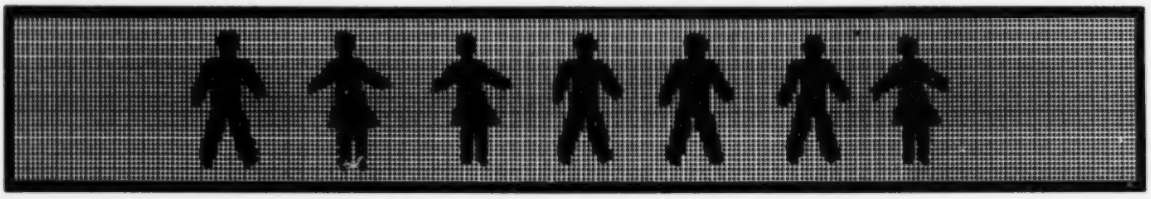
Though participants were free to choose any two of the seven categories, no other spending cuts or tax increases garnered significant support. The other categories were: income tax hikes (23 percent support), higher user fees on federal services (11 percent), general domestic spending cuts (9 percent), gasoline tax hikes (8 percent), and cuts in social security and entitlement programs (6 percent).

It is important to note that the costliest program enacted by participants—long-term care—was part of a package that paid for itself through Social Security tax increases on individuals earning more than $45,000 annually. The second costliest program that gained majority support--universal health insurance--also paid for itself through $12 billion in taxes on employers, workers, and beneficiaries of the program.

"I think defense should be cut, but I think it should be done surgically. You have to be extremely careful when you cut defense."

"I don't mind paying more taxes for children."

"We give the Congress a blank check. They go out and spend. They create more programs, spend more money. Then they ask us for even more money."



CONCLUSIONS

"Anything that can help to make a family more stable and more cohesive and more permanent is a benefit to all of us in society."

The words "work and family" mean different things to different people. On Capitol Hill, work and family is a catchphrase for a variety of new legislative proposals that use any of a number of federal government tools -- including the tax code, regulation, and direct spending -- to meet the needs of families and influence the private sector. For businesses, work and family generally refers to emerging personnel policies such as parental leave, on-site day care, long-term care insurance, and flexible work hours.

A careful examination of the data from the Citizen Assemblies suggests that it is too early to declare that a public definition of the work and family challenge has been discovered and that the vast majority of Americans have arrived at consensus on solutions to these problems. However, certain cross-cutting themes did emerge from the forums. These public messages should be considered as policymakers continue their difficult mission of trying to understand the changing family and workplace and the role of public policy in supporting healthy families and a prosperous economy.

1. Work and Family in a Larger Context. For these citizens, the issues defined these days as "work and family" issues -- namely, child care, elder care, and family and medical leave -- are part of a larger set of concerns about the future that begin with the fundamentals of education, health, and jobs. Perhaps as a result of the prominence granted to child care in the recent presidential campaign and the extensive efforts of the media and other influential institutions to raise national awareness of child care, the issue ranks fourth on these citizens' list of concerns, above housing, personal security, food and nutrition, and other very basic needs. In five out of the twelve communities, it ranked second, overshadowed only by education as a family concern. While child care is not at the top of Americans' agenda for social policy, as some polls and surveys might imply, it is a solid item on the public agenda. Elder care fared less well, as did concerns about family-oriented job benefits and flexibility. While citizens do not seem to be embracing a comprehensive work and family agenda, they are concerned about the healthy

development of the next generation and look to business and government to help meet that goal.

2. Business and Government. The participants spoke with a clear voice on the subject of who should be involved in resolving work and family conflicts. In both the introductory exercises and the policy options, they carved out an active role for employers as well as federal, state, and local governments. The project described here focused primarily on federal options, but in group discussion, large numbers of participants expressed the desire to learn more about the details of possible private sector approaches to problems such as family and medical leave, child care, and elder care. Some of them chose federal options only reluctantly, wishing they could learn more about voluntary programs and the potential for meeting needs through private-sector initiatives.

This message suggests an appetite for further dialogue between citizens and national leaders on the subject of non-governmental, private sector options for addressing the work and family challenge. Clearly, these citizens would welcome the opportunity to take a closer look at innovative models developed by corporations, labor unions, religious organizations, and other institutions.

3. Reaching All Families. Almost across the board, these citizens tended to select options that included middle-class as well as low-income families. In the case of health care and long-term care, as we pointed out above, the citizens applied a clear principle of universality. The options designed to put more cash in the pockets of the nation's neediest families received only lukewarm support. Where they chose to encourage employers to act, as in family and medical leave and child care, they expressed their interest in extending benefits to all working people.

Appendix I: Local and National Forum Results

(All Appendix Tables List Percentages)

Balancing Work and Family -- Priority Concerns

	NAT	SFV	SJC	CR	DM	CHI	PEO	KAL	NH	HIC	ATL	SAV	TRI
Decent and Affordable Child Care													
Urgent	25	41	31	12	34	15	31	23	38	26	27	17	31
Important	**63**	**41**	**57**	**70**	**62**	**74**	**58**	**64**	**56**	**58**	**55**	**69**	**66**
Less Important	10	10	8	15	3	11	10	15	6	13	11	13	3
Education													
Urgent	**51**	**28**	**42**	**47**	**53**	**54**	**58**	**55**	**38**	**50**	**55**	**64**	**44**
Important	**42**	**62**	**49**	**41**	**43**	**39**	**37**	**40**	**62**	**47**	**35**	**33**	**53**
Less Important	4	0	6	8	3	4	3	6	0	3	3	1	3
Food and Nutrition													
Urgent	10	0	18	11	10	10	10	11	15	3	9	10	6
Important	**62**	**59**	**52**	**53**	**76**	**57**	**66**	**79**	**74**	**76**	**54**	**63**	**69**
Less Important	26	38	26	32	14	28	22	15	12	21	32	25	25
Elder Care													
Urgent	10	17	9	15	9	9	7	4	3	18	13	4	13
Important	**70**	**66**	**58**	**66**	**59**	**69**	**80**	**79**	**79**	**74**	**64**	**79**	**81**
Less Important	17	14	29	19	17	17	12	19	15	8	20	15	6
Housing													
Urgent	21	45	26	16	19	17	15	15	32	29	16	28	25
Important	**66**	**41**	**60**	**59**	**72**	**74**	**75**	**72**	**68**	**61**	**66**	**58**	**66**
Less Important	11	7	11	24	9	9	8	13	0	11	13	13	9
Health Care													
Urgent	29	31	32	30	41	31	20	34	29	29	24	18	38
Important	**65**	**55**	**62**	**61**	**53**	**64**	**75**	**70**	**71**	**66**	**64**	**78**	**56**
Less Important	5	14	3	9	3	5	3	2	0	5	6	3	6
Job Opportunities													
Urgent	28	10	31	39	21	36	22	26	21	21	27	22	34
Important	**59**	**79**	**63**	**45**	**67**	**51**	**63**	**66**	**74**	**58**	**51**	**68**	**53**
Less Important	11	14	3	15	10	10	15	11	3	21	12	8	13
Personal Security													
Urgent	12	0	15	15	7	10	15	11	9	18	12	18	6
Important	**65**	**86**	**58**	**61**	**60**	**64**	**66**	**72**	**65**	**58**	**64**	**69**	**69**
Less Important	21	7	23	24	29	21	17	19	26	29	19	11	25
Job Benefits and Flexibility													
Urgent	7	7	8	11	3	7	7	9	0	11	10	8	3
Important	**64**	**83**	**62**	**51**	**67**	**65**	**68**	**57**	**76**	**61**	**62**	**71**	**66**
Less Important	26	3	28	36	28	26	24	36	21	26	23	18	31
Career Fulfillment													
Urgent	3	0	2	8	3	5	3	4	0	0	2	0	0
Important	39	34	28	42	**52**	39	34	28	44	45	43	42	38
Less Important	**56**	**59**	**66**	49	41	**56**	**61**	**70**	**56**	**55**	**50**	**58**	**63**
Other													
Urgent	6	3	0	3	14	6	7	17	12	8	3	10	0
Important	27	**124***	28	19	10	30	14	45	32	11	17	35	0
Less Important	5	3	0	16	0	2	0	23	24	0	0	10	0

Bold numbers indicate majority support.

*** Participants were able to choose more than one "other" concern.**

KEY

NAT: National
SFV: San Fernando Valley, CA
SJC: San Joaquin County, CA
CR: Cedar Rapids/Iowa City, IA
DM: Des Moines (Central Iowa)
CHI: Metro Chicago
PEO: Peoria, IL
KAL: Kalamazoo (SW Michigan)
NH: New Hampshire
HIC: Hickory/ Unifour, NC
ATL: Atlanta, GA
SAV: Savannah, GA
TRI: Triangle Area, NC

Balancing Work and Family -- Should Business and Government Help?

	NAT	SFV	SJC	CR	DM	CHI	PEO	KAL	NH	HIC	ATL	SAV	TRI
Businesses and Work and Family Benefits:													
Businesses adapt their policies	**82**	**97**	**77**	**82**	**72**	**87**	**69**	**87**	**94**	**82**	**83**	**76**	**94**
Workers put employers' expectations 1st	13	0	22	12	12	8	25	11	6	18	12	15	3
Government and Work and Family Policy:													
Little or No Government Role	20	7	20	36	10	15	32	17	15	24	15	26	25
Federal Government	6	10	6	1	7	8	7	6	3	8	3	8	0
State/Local Government	7	3	6	8	7	7	7	6	0	3	10	10	3
Federal and State/Local Government	**67**	**76**	**68**	**53**	**78**	**70**	**53**	**79**	**82**	**66**	**69**	**54**	**69**
Targeting Government Help:													
Restrict to Neediest Families	29	14	25	42	29	22	42	30	29	34	24	25	38
Extend Benefits to Middle-Class Families	**69**	**83**	**72**	**53**	**71**	**77**	**53**	**72**	**71**	**66**	**74**	**69**	**56**

Bold numbers indicate majority support.

KEY

NAT: National
SFV: San Fernando Valley, CA
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HIC: Hickory/ Unifour, NC
ATL: Atlanta, GA
SAV: Savannah, GA
TRI: Triangle Area, NC

Balancing Work and Family Policy Options

	NAT	SFV	SJC	CR	DM	CHI	PEO	KAL	NH	HIC	ATL	SAV	TRI
Family and Medical Leave													
1. Public or Private:													
Employer's Choice	35	38	35	51	28	20	51	28	32	39	32	44	28
Government Action	60	59	65	49	64	80	46	74	68	61	64	51	69
2. Policy Options:*													
Tax Incentives for Business	58	52	69	55	67	51	47	53	79	55	60	53	69
States' Choice	25	21	32	19	14	22	39	21	12	45	21	32	28
Federal Minimum Labor Standards - Basic	14	7	22	11	12	18	25	11	12	8	12	10	22
Federal Minimum Labor Standards - European Model	60	69	55	47	60	68	34	74	82	61	61	63	41
3. Scope of Government Standards:													
Maternity Leave	88	93	100	81	88	87	76	85	94	92	93	81	91
Paternity Leave	61	79	58	53	53	69	39	62	79	55	62	60	69
Worker's Serious Health Condition	91	93	100	89	86	89	95	91	94	95	95	86	78
Child's Serious Health Condition	83	93	91	69	78	84	76	87	88	74	88	82	78
Spouse's Serious Health Condition	80	76	83	78	71	81	80	85	85	68	83	79	75
Parent's Serious Health Condition	64	79	63	55	55	72	44	62	82	58	70	61	59
Other Relative's Serious Health Condition	25	38	26	12	12	40	17	21	41	13	23	22	28
Child Care													
4. Public or Private:													
The Free Market (no new federal programs)	30	17	25	59	22	21	44	23	26	32	28	39	19
Government Action	68	76	75	42	66	77	54	77	74	68	70	60	78
5. Policy Options:*													
Tax Incentives for Business	64	62	65	66	64	58	54	62	71	71	74	54	84
Child Tax Credit	33	34	51	27	33	31	29	13	35	29	35	33	44
Funding and Standards for Child Care	44	83	46	30	45	53	34	43	41	37	39	40	50
Expanding Childhood Education	56	45	72	53	55	59	63	47	50	63	50	47	69
Universal Preschool	18	52	9	11	21	21	8	19	21	18	22	13	9
6. To Regulate or Not to Regulate:													
Federal Government Advisory Committee Standards	63	69	68	50	64	71	58	77	59	47	62	54	69
State Standards	23	24	18	28	24	18	29	13	21	39	22	28	22
Private Sector Standards	12	3	9	22	7	9	12	4	18	13	16	17	6

	NAT	SFV	SJC	CR	DM	CHI	PEO	KAL	NH	HIC	ATL	SAV	TRI
Elder Care													
7. Public or Private:													
The Free Market	25	14	14	47	21	16	37	13	21	39	22	33	31
Government Action	**72**	**83**	**80**	**53**	**69**	**83**	**61**	**81**	**76**	**58**	**75**	**63**	**66**
8. Policy Options:*													
A New National Insurance Program	32	31	38	19	33	40	19	28	56	13	32	31	44
Expanding Medicare	26	45	34	24	19	21	32	38	12	32	26	24	25
Expanding Medicaid	8	0	5	4	16	8	5	11	9	18	9	3	3
Individual Medical Accounts	16	21	5	24	12	15	20	6	3	26	16	26	19
Tax Incentives for Private Insurance	11	0	5	20	10	13	12	9	15	13	12	6	0
Family Income and Benefits													
9. Public or Private:													
Economic Growth	42	48	37	**51**	29	33	**56**	36	24	**63**	40	**51**	47
Government Action	**54**	45	**57**	49	**67**	**66**	41	**60**	**71**	34	49	46	50
10. Family Income Policy Options:*													
Child Tax Credit	8	0	6	14	10	7	5	11	3	8	6	13	3
Expanded Earned Income Tax Credit	42	21	**54**	41	50	40	42	32	**74**	39	42	32	38
Higher Minimum Wage	48	**66**	46	31	43	49	**54**	49	41	**55**	**55**	35	**59**
Child Support Enforcement	**65**	**66**	**69**	**73**	**57**	**65**	**71**	**64**	**62**	**58**	**66**	**61**	**56**
11. Health Insurance Policy Options:													
Employer-Based Health Insurance	15	0	11	15	10	17	24	6	3	21	17	21	16
Medicaid Buy-In	15	7	31	22	10	13	15	26	12	16	14	6	3
Universal Public/Private Partnership	**54**	**86**	**54**	47	**66**	**69**	51	**62**	**76**	**58**	**60**	**57**	**72**
Paying for New Expenses													
Cut Defense Spending	**72**	**72**	**80**	**62**	**91**	**71**	**68**	**81**	**82**	**76**	**68**	**60**	**69**
Cut Entitlement Spending	6	14	0	14	2	7	19	9	3	3	7	11	6
Cut Domestic Spending	9	3	3	28	3	7	17	11	12	11	11	21	19
Establish/Increase User Fees	11	21	12	19	12	17	15	15	6	11	14	17	16
Raise Income Taxes	23	28	20	27	50	27	29	19	32	3	12	11	19
Raise the Gasoline Tax	8	0	9	5	7	7	2	11	9	8	17	8	6
Raise Tax on Tobacco, Wine, and Alcohol	52	66	65	51	29	44	36	53	47	100	52	57	50

Bold numbers indicate majority support.
***Participants were able to choose more than one Policy Option.**

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Appendix II: Excerpts from Balancing Work and Family Options

The following descriptions are excerpts from the Balancing Work and Family "Workbook". These options were presented to citizens along with arguments in favor of each option and extensive background materials on the issues.

BALANCING WORK AND FAMILY POLICY OPTIONS

On the following pages is a series of options for helping to balance work and family demands. In each case, you will face a choice between leaving responsibility for the issue in private sector hands or involving the federal government. For those who choose federal action, a variety of different policy options is presented. Some involve increased federal spending. Some involve raising special taxes. Some involve increasing costs for U.S. businesses.

The options are divided into four sections corresponding with the sections in the Briefing. Section One, "Family and Medical Leave," examines the timely debate over time off from work for family responsibilities. Section Two, "Child Care," explores a wide range of options for dealing with problems faced by working parents, their employers, and their children. Section Three, "Elder Care," focuses on working people who care for older, dependent family members. Section Four, "Family Income and Benefits," looks at different options for addressing the special needs of low-income working people.

In each case, the cost to the federal government of the spending options represents the increase in federal spending for 1993 alone. Since many of the options will entail additional spending over several years, the real long-term cost of each option may be much higher than the numbers given.

FAMILY AND MEDICAL LEAVE - Policy Options

_____ a. *TAX INCENTIVES FOR BUSINESS*
NEW FEDERAL SPENDING: $0.5 billion (in lost revenue)

The federal government would give tax credits to employers that offer flexibility in scheduling for workers struggling to balance work and family. Short-term leave policies and alternative work hours, along with other innovations, would qualify. This option leaves control in the hands of employers but shifts the cost burden from business to government, through lost tax revenues.

_____ b. *STATES' CHOICE.*
NO NEW FEDERAL SPENDING
(Costs borne by businesses on a state-by-state basis.)

Decisions mandating leave would be reserved to state governments. Resulting policies would vary, with some states leaving the issue to the private sector, others legislating basic minimum policies, and others requiring far more generous leave packages. No federal standards.

[note: Do not select both c and d.]

_____ c. *FEDERAL MINIMUM LABOR STANDARD - BASIC.*
NO NEW FEDERAL SPENDING
(Estimates of costs to employers vary between $200 million and $5 billion annually.)

The federal government would require all employers of 50 workers or more to provide up to 10 to 15 weeks of unpaid leave for family and medical needs. This plan would guarantee job security, seniority, and continued health benefits during the leave. Employers pay the costs.

_____ d. *FEDERAL MINIMUM LABOR STANDARD - EUROPEAN MODEL*
NO NEW FEDERAL SPENDING
(Costs to business of approximately $80 per worker per year. Each employee would contribute additional $80 per year.)

The federal government would require all employers to provide up to six months of paid leave for family and medical needs. Workers on leave would still earn 50 percent of their usual wages, paid through an insurance fund financed by contributions from employee and employer. Job security, seniority, health and pension benefits would continue. Under this plan, the federal government would set a stricter standard, similar to national policies of many other industrialized nations. Employers and employees would share the costs.

CHILD CARE-- Policy Options

_____ a. *TAX INCENTIVES FOR BUSINESS*
NEW FEDERAL SPENDING: $0.5 billion (in lost revenue)

The federal government would give tax breaks to employers who assist workers with child care, including those that establish on-site or near-site child care centers.

[note: If you choose option b here, do not choose option 10a in the final section. They are identical proposals]

_____ b. *CHILD TAX CREDIT*
NEW FEDERAL SPENDING: $2.5 billion (in lost revenue)

This proposal would increase the amount of dollars available to all low-income, working families based on the number of children they support. Families can spend the credit as they see fit—on child care services or other family needs. Features of this proposal include:

o a new tax credit for all low-income families (annual income under $15,000) with at least one working parent and children under age 4. Calculated on a sliding scale, the new credit would provide up to $1,000 per child.

o available to working families with child care bills as well as families in which one parent stays home to raise the children. This proposal leaves all decisions about parenting and child care in the hands of the families themselves.

_____ c. *FUNDING AND STANDARDS FOR CHILD CARE*
NEW FEDERAL SPENDING: $2.5 billion

This proposal includes a series of programs, funded by the federal government and administered by states, to directly affect the price, supply, and quality of child care nationwide. Features of this proposal include:

o federal subsidies for child care for low- and moderate-income families (up to 100 percent of state median income, about $33,000).

o broad distribution of funds to child care providers—relatives, baby sitters, family day care homes, group centers, and nursery schools—but not to families with a full-time homemaker.

o requirements that all child care providers receiving federal funds meet basic health, safety, and quality standards.

o smaller grants and loans to support creation of new child care programs, train child care providers, and encourage greater business involvement in child care.

[Note: Do not choose both d and e.]

_____ **d.** *EXPANDING EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION*
NEW FEDERAL SPENDING: $2.5 billion
(Increase over $1.2 billion current spending for Head Start.)

This proposal would focus federal resources on enhancing child development and preparing young, disadvantaged children for school. Features of this proposal include:

o strengthening two of the main pillars of the education system—Head Start and the public schools.

o increased funding to make Head Start and before-, after-, and preschool programs in the public schools free to low-income children.

o enrollment fees for other families based on their ability to pay.

_____ **e.** *UNIVERSAL PRESCHOOL*
NEW FEDERAL SPENDING: $20 billion

This proposal would provide free, full-day preschool for all 3- and 4-year-old children whose families choose to participate. Attendance would be entirely voluntary.

ELDER CARE -- Policy Options

_____ **a.** *A NEW NATIONAL SOCIAL INSURANCE PROGRAM*
NEW FEDERAL SPENDING: $20 billion
NEW FEDERAL REVENUE: $20 billion
(No net cost to federal government.)

Under this proposal, a new social insurance program would permit every American family to meet its long-term care needs. Such a program would form the third pillar of social insurance, paralleling the existing federal Medicare and Social Security insurance programs.

Increases in Social Security taxes for workers earning more than $45,000 a year would fund the program. Both employers and employees would pay the increased taxes.

This proposal would tax wealthier workers and provide benefits to all eligible citizens, regardless of income.

_____ **b.** *EXPANDING MEDICARE*
NEW FEDERAL SPENDING: $20 billion
(Increase over $80 billion current spending.)
NEW FEDERAL REVENUE: $20 billion
(No net cost to federal government.)

The existing federal Medicare system (national health insurance for the elderly and disabled) could be expanded to pay for all long-term-care-related charges for citizens now eligible for Medicare. The proposal would vastly increase protections under Medicare, a system which today focuses on paying only for acute care in hospitals and nursing homes.

Increases in Social Security taxes for workers earning more than $45,000 a year would fund the program. Both employers and employees would pay the increased taxes.

This proposal would tax wealthier workers and provide benefits to all older and disabled citizens, regardless of income.

_____ **c.** *EXPANDING MEDICAID*
NEW FEDERAL SPENDING: $2 billion
(Increase over $30 billion current costs.)

This proposal would broaden Medicaid (a welfare program) to include coverage of long-term care at home as well as nursing home care for poor Americans.

_____ **d.** *INDIVIDUAL MEDICAL ACCOUNTS*
NEW FEDERAL SPENDING: $9 billion (in lost revenue)

This proposal would encourage Americans to save for their own long-term care needs through tax-exempt Individual Medical Accounts (IMA). Patterned after existing Individual Retirement Accounts (IRA), the IMA would act as a tax-shelter/bank savings account from which the customer could draw to pay for long-term care costs.

_____ **e.** *TAX INCENTIVES FOR PRIVATE INSURANCE*
NEW FEDERAL SPENDING: $1 billion (in lost revenue)

This proposal would provide federal tax incentives to private insurance companies to develop more affordable long-term care insurance policies with greater flexibility and broader protection.

FAMILY INCOME: Policy Options

[note: If you selected Option 5b above, do not select Option a here. They are identical proposals.]

_____ **a.** *CHILD TAX CREDIT*
NEW FEDERAL SPENDING: $2.5 billion (in lost revenue)

This proposal would provide tax relief for low-income, working families based on the number of children they support. Features of this program include:

o a new, refundable tax credit for low-income families with at least one working parent and children under age 4.

o up to $1,000 per child, calculated on a sliding scale.

o assistance for about 3.5 million families.

o recognition that raising children is a financial strain for families but a public good worthy of support.

_____ b. *EXPANDED EARNED-INCOME TAX CREDIT*
NEW FEDERAL SPENDING: $15 billion (in lost revenue)
(Increase over $5 billion current revenue loss.)

This proposal would expand an existing program that provides tax relief for low-income working families and adjust it for family size. Features of the proposal include:

o increasing the amount of the earned-income tax credit (EITC) for working poor families. Maximum benefits would increase from $1,000 for all families to $2,000 for families with two or more children.

o a sliding scale with maximum benefits going to families whose incomes hover around the poverty line.

o assistance for some 11 million families.

_____ c. *HIGHER MINIMUM WAGE*
NO NEW FEDERAL SPENDING
(Possible loss of between 200,000 and 800,000 jobs.)

This proposal would raise the minimum allowable wage for all U.S. workers from $3.35 per hour to $4.65.

_____ d. *CHILD SUPPORT ENFORCEMENT*
MINIMAL FEDERAL SPENDING

This proposal would provide assistance to states in developing new policies for enforcing and collecting child support payments from divorced parents.

HEALTH INSURANCE -- Policy Options

_____ a. *EMPLOYER-BASED HEALTH INSURANCE BENEFITS*
NEW FEDERAL SPENDING: $6 billion (in lost revenue)
(Cost to employers of $20 to $30 billion.)

This proposal would require all employers to provide minimum health insurance benefits for full-time employees and their dependents. Employers would pay most of the insurance premiums. This proposal would cover only the segment of the currently uninsured who live in households with full-time workers.

_____ b. *MEDICAID BUY-IN*

NEW FEDERAL SPENDING: $10 billion

(Increase over $30 billion current spending.)

This proposal would allow low- and moderate-income Americans without health insurance to pay a fee for coverage under Medicaid, the federal government's program for delivering health care to the poor. This proposal would cover low-income earners who are now uninsured.

_____ c. *UNIVERSAL PUBLIC/PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP*

NEW FEDERAL SPENDING: $12.5 billion

NEW FEDERAL REVENUE: $12.0 billion

($0.5 billion net cost to federal government.)

Cost to business of $20 to $30 billion.

This proposal would provide access to health care for every American citizen. Features of the program include:

o federal mandate for all large employers to provide private health care insurance for all full-time employees and their dependants.

o publicly subsidized health insurance for Americans not covered by their employer, including part-time workers, the jobless, employees of certain small businesses, the self-employed, and others.

This proposal would be funded through three taxes: a payroll tax on employers who do not provide health insurance for all of their workers; a tax on citizens who would receive government coverage; and taxes on workers for their employer-provided health benefits.

Appendix III: Personal Questionnaire Results

	NAT	SFV	SJC	CR	DM	CHI	PEO	KAL	NH	HIC	ATL	SAV	TRI
Sex													
Male	**40**	**18**	**44**	**45**	**43**	**35**	**38**	**43**	**28**	**38**	**38**	**37**	**41**
Female	**60**	**82**	**56**	**55**	**57**	**65**	**62**	**57**	**72**	**62**	**62**	**63**	**59**
Race/Ethnicity													
Caucasian	**83**	**55**	**86**	**96**	**100**	**68**	**85**	**95**	**91**	**98**	**79**	**77**	**81**
African American	11	18	0	1	0	24	5	5	0	2	20	14	13
Hispanic	2	18	6	0	0	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	3
Asian American	1	0	4	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Other	2	9	4	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	3	3
Age													
20 or under	3	18	6	3	2	0	2	2	0	7	2	4	3
21-25	3	14	2	0	5	7	0	2	0	2	2	5	0
26-30	7	9	0	7	5	8	7	2	6	14	11	4	6
31-35	12	9	12	15	5	20	11	7	16	5	9	12	13
36-40	16	5	16	15	9	16	20	14	19	10	17	26	16
41-45	14	5	22	14	17	13	15	16	9	17	10	12	22
46-50	11	9	12	12	12	9	9	25	13	7	10	13	9
51-55	7	9	18	8	10	4	5	5	6	10	3	5	13
56-60	6	5	6	7	5	4	4	9	9	10	7	5	6
61-65	7	9	0	3	17	6	7	2	9	10	7	5	6
65+	10	5	6	15	12	8	11	16	9	7	18	3	3
Marital Status													
Married	**63**	**55**	**60**	**73**	**59**	**51**	**73**	**75**	**59**	**69**	**64**	**62**	**72**
Single	18	32	14	11	17	26	9	9	13	14	18	23	16
Divorced/Separated	15	14	22	10	21	21	15	16	22	7	11	9	9
Widowed	3	0	2	7	3	2	2	0	6	7	6	1	3
Employment Status**													
Full-Time Job	**62**	**55**	**78**	**63**	**57**	**67**	**56**	**59**	**53**	**55**	**55**	**63**	**72**
Part -Time Job	11	14	6	12	5	8	9	16	19	14	16	12	6
Homemaker	9	18	2	11	7	10	16	7	13	7	10	6	6
Retired	13	9	4	11	21	9	13	18	16	14	20	8	6
Student	6	9	8	7	9	5	15	2	9	7	3	4	3
Unemployed	2	5	0	1	2	3	0	2	0	0	1	5	0

Bold numbers indicate majority.
****Participants were able to choose more than one category.**

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Appendix III: Personal Questionnaire Results

	NAT	SFV	SJC	CR	DM	CHI	PEO	KAL	NH	HIC	ATL	SAV	TRI
Number of Children Living with You													
0	**51**	50	36	**41**	**55**	**58**	**53**	45	31	**52**	**63**	38	**56**
1-2	37	36	44	34	34	33	27	45	**63**	40	30	41	38
3-4	10	9	18	21	10	8	15	9	9	2	7	10	0
more than 4	1	0	0	3	0	1	4	0	0	2	0	1	3
Do any of your children spend time in child care?													
Yes	21	27	30	26	12	21	16	23	38	12	15	23	16
No	**68**	**64**	**70**	**64**	**88**	**60**	**73**	**77**	**53**	**69**	**64**	**60**	**91**
Do you ever expect to use child care?													
Yes	31	**45**	30	38	14	38	24	23	**59**	21	31	28	19
No	**52**	32	**62**	**53**	**78**	39	**62**	**61**	34	**62**	**56**	**29**	**66**
Not Sure	10	0	8	5	9	18	9	14	0	5	10	13	6
Do you care for an elderly or disabled person?													
Yes	14	9	16	7	17	21	9	18	13	19	14	6	13
No	**80**	**73**	**80**	**93**	**83**	**74**	**85**	**82**	**75**	**71**	**77**	**77**	**88**
Do you ever expect to care for an elderly or disabled person?													
Yes	**50**	**41**	**56**	**45**	**43**	**49**	**44**	**57**	**50**	**57**	**58**	**44**	**50**
No	15	18	18	25	17	11	24	11	13	7	12	9	16
Not Sure	24	27	16	26	29	29	24	20	25	21	16	28	28
Have you ever taken time off from work for medical reasons?													
Yes	**59**	**55**	**64**	**45**	**67**	**59**	**60**	**68**	**69**	**60**	**56**	**62**	**53**
No	34	23	32	**52**	33	36	35	27	19	26	39	21	47
Have you ever taken time off from work for family reasons?													
Yes	**60**	**68**	**56**	**51**	**66**	**60**	**60**	**70**	**69**	**67**	**56**	**54**	**69**
No	33	18	42	47	34	35	33	23	22	26	36	26	31
Does your employer offer leave of absence?													
Yes	**53**	32	**64**	**62**	**53**	49	**60**	50	31	**69**	48	50	**63**
No	17	32	6	14	17	20	11	2	31	10	16	23	22
Not Sure	8	5	8	10	17	6	4	9	3	2	6	8	34
Do you have access to health care coverage?													
Yes	**87**	**50**	**96**	**97**	**93**	**88**	**85**	**91**	**78**	**90**	**84**	**78**	**88**
No	6	27	2	4	5	7	4	7	9	0	7	3	13
Source of Health Care Coverage**													
Employer Provided	**52**	27	**72**	**51**	**45**	**52**	**45**	**66**	**41**	**55**	**53**	**45**	**69**
Spouse's Employer Provided	23	23	20	26	9	21	42	23	22	26	26	22	9
Individual Policy	15	5	10	14	34	11	13	7	13	21	11	21	22
Medicare	5	5	6	7	7	4	4	5	3	2	6	1	6
Other	8	9	2	8	17	10	11	14	9	0	6	3	6
Is your coverage sufficient?													
Yes	**64**	**45**	**84**	**81**	**64**	**51**	**76**	**70**	**59**	**76**	**61**	**60**	**50**
No	25	27	10	12	29	**40**	13	30	25	14	26	21	**41**

Bold numbers indicate majority.

****Participants were able to choose more than one category.**

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Appendix IV: Forum Schedule

Cedar Rapids/Iowa City Citizen Assembly	May 6	Coe College Cedar Rapids, Iowa
Central Iowa Citizen Assembly	May 6	Des Moines Area Comm. College Ankeny, Iowa
Citizen Assembly of Greater Atlanta	May 13	Georgia State University Atlanta, Georgia
Southwest Michigan Citizen Assembly	May 13	Kellogg Community College Battle Creek, Michigan
Metropolitan Chicago Citizen Assembly	May 13	Northwestern University Chicago, Illinois
San Fernando Valley Citizen Assembly	May 20	Winnetka Recreation Center Canoga Park, California
Citizen Assembly of Savannah	May 20	Savannah Tech Savannah, Georgia
Hickory/Unifour Area Citizen Assembly	May 20	Catawba Valley Community College Hickory, North Carolina
Triangle Area Citizen Assembly	May 20	Durham Technical Comm. College Durham, North Carolina
New Hampshire Citizen Assembly	May 20	New Hampshire College Manchester, New Hampshire
Tri-County (Peoria) Area Citizen Assembly	May 20	Illinois Central College East Peoria, Illinois
San Joaquin County Citizen Assembly	May 20	Delta College Stockton, California

The Balancing Work and Family Project was a team effort that involved many members of the Roosevelt Center staff, but, in particular, the following people: Karen Baehler, Mark Rovner, Michael Anderson, Betsy Cain, Robbie Nichols, Alan Martin, and Chris Kline. All played critical roles in the design, development, writing, and production of materials, and in the analysis and production of this report.

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and
the Balancing Work & Family Program

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The Upjohn Company, Southwest Michigan
J.C. Penney Company, San Joaquin County, CA
Union Safe Deposit Bank Charitable Trust, San Joaquin County, CA
Stockton Savings and Loan Association, San Joaquin County, CA
Junior Aid of Stockton, Stockton, CA
The Principal Foundation, Des Moines, IA
Pioneer Hi-Bred International, Des Moines, IA
The Junior League of Des Moines, Des Moines, IA
Mr. DeWitt Horner, New York, NY
Peoria Journal Star, Peoria, IL
West Central Illinois Labor Council, Peoria, IL
West Central Illinois Building and Construction Trades Council, Peoria, IL
Mr. Ralph Converse, Peoria, IL
L. R. Nelson Corporation, Peoria, IL
Vonachen Industrial Supplies, Peoria, IL
Peoria Area Labor Management Council, Peoria, IL
Shuford Mills, Hickory, NC
Catawba Valley Community College, Hickory, NC
City of Hickory, Hickory, NC
Mr. William Barron, Cedar Rapids, IA
Shive-Hattery Engineers and Architects, Cedar Rapids, IA
Merchants National Bank, Cedar Rapids, IA
Penford Products Company, Cedar Rapids, IA
Gazette-KCRG Stations, Cedar Rapids, IA
Teleconnect Company, Cedar Rapids, IA
Chatham Steel Corporation, Savannah, GA
Armstrong College Alumni Association, Savannah, GA
The Blum-Kovler Foundation, Chicago, IL
Mr. Bernard Weissbourd, Chicago, IL
The Saltzman Family Foundation, Chicago, IL
Mr. Howard Krane, Chicago, IL
Jasculca/Terman and Associates, Chicago, IL
Mr. R. Eden Martin, Chicago, IL
The Hanover Foundation, Chicago, IL
The Field Corporation Fund, Chicago, IL
Chicago Community Trust, Chicago, IL
The Junior League of Atlanta, Atlanta, GA
North Carolina Association of Electric Cooperatives, Triangle Region, NC
Lockheed Corporation, San Fernando Valley, CA

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For more information about the Balancing Work and Family Project, please contact Karen Baehler at (301) 864-3711.